2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-maᵩkE (east people)	masa'numaᵩkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numaᵩkE	masa'numaᵩkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc	

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

---

At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by
793 sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buf-
173 falo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of
241 agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism
773 should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).